1: Jenness--164 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 844

"Kohoktak, a Tree river native, and his wife, Mannigyorina, were employed by the expedition during the summer of 1915. They built a hut beside our station in November, and in the following month the woman gave birth to a child. Much anxiety was felt while she was in labour, for she had already suffered three miscarriages (1). Two married women attended on her, but her delivery was long and painful. Her husband was hurriedly sent out to invoke our assistance, but the child was delivered almost as soon as he left the hut. About a quarter of an hour afterwards Mannigyorina was kneeling on the sleeping platform inside her hut (she was not allowed to sit), and holding the unwashed baby underneath her against her breast. The following morning Hohoktak presented a slab of sinew to Dr. Anderson, in payment for his (supposed) services in driving away the malignant spirits that had hindered his wife's delivery. We visited his hut, and found Mannigyorina attending to her lamp with the baby dressed in deerskin

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"1. Dr. Daniel Neumann, the Health Officer of the Bureau of Education in North Alaska, expressed the opinion that the frequency of miscarriages among Eskimo women is due to the intense cold."

clothes sleeping on the platform. Its little feet were curled up, so the mother pulled them gently out to make them straight, then allowed her proud husband to take his first-born into his arms."

1: Jenness--164-165 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 844

"There is no seclusion of women among the Copper Eskimos either before or after child-birth. (2) The mother is delivered in her own hut in the presence [165] of her husband and of one or two married women who act as mid-wives, sometimes too of a shaman whose aid is solicited to give her an easy delivery. The mother does little or no work for a day or two, and the husband also remains idle as a rule. I could discover no taboos in reference to food or clothing beyond the necessity of obtaining another bed-skin for the babe to sleep on; the usual custom, apparently, is to exchange a bed-skin with a neighbour. The woman is confined to the house for one or more days according to her health. If the parents decide to preserve the child a relative is called in to massage it within a few hours of its birth. On the last day of the year 1915, about four

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"2. Mr. Stefansson noticed among the Akulliakattak natives that a young woman whose child died soon after birth had a tiny tent to herself. (Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 248). There was no seclusion or isolation of the mother in any case that came under my notice. Possibly this woman's husband was absent from camp at the time, when she would naturally be living alone. Cp. Boas, Bulletin A. M. N. H., Vol. XV, pt. I, p. 117.)"

o'clock in the morning, Ikpakhuak and Higilak were roused by a woman who came to announce that the old man's niece Kaiyoranna had just given birth to a child. Both dressed immediately and went over to see it. Ikpakhuak 'worked' it, savaktok, pulling out its legs to make them grow big and strong, exactly as Higilak and Avranna had 'worked' their pups the preceding summer. They came back to their own hut about an hour later bringing Kaiyoranna's bed-skin, in exchange for which they sent over their own. The following day Ikpakhuak refused to chop up a frozen deer carcass, on the ground that, as he had 'worked' the baby only the day before, some harm might come to it if he used his tomahawk. Higilak many years before had 'worked' her nephew Kesullik in the same manner. Ever afterwards the child is considered as the foster-child of all who assisted at its birth, whether they acted as mid-wives proper or merely administered the ceremonial massage."

2: Stefansson--254
844, 846, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"June 19. Belief. Pan. says Ḱuwûk people hang afterbirth in a high tree. Among her own people a woman with a child on her back (i.e. less than about five years) must not eat kaksrauk (black-throated and red-throated loon); if she does her child will be unable to walk or be at least a poor walker."

3: Rasmussen--40-41 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 844

"No special house is built for women about to bear children. The woman lies on the platform, leaning against another woman and supporting one arm on her shoulder. If the birth is difficult, a relative may hold the woman round the body and try to press the child out. The child must not be helped out, but must fall out itself, the mother being in a kneeling position. [41]

Women who have been confined are called nalilgit. This is the same word as pilgit and then means that women who have borne children have received a gift.

The place on the platform that is first touched by a new-born child, and where an extra caribou skin is laid, is called e'wik (=eju^{v}kArwik).

When a woman cannot bring her child with the aid of ordinary people she must be helped by a shaman, who then either pronounces magic words or exhorts the spirits.

Immediately after the birth the woman puts on her clothing and her kamiks, but does not at once go out into the open air; some remain inside a few days, others several days. They say they keep quietly at home in order to rest the lower part of their body. A piece of caribou skin is tied round the waist and loins and this is worn tight for some time. Such a woman is called nAqutilik: the one who has something that presses part of her in. After a birth the woman must pull her hood up over her head and keep it there for some days."

3: Rasmussen--41 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 844

"Children are not admitted to the tent or house where there is a woman in confinement; adults are not debarred. When children come out after having for the first time been in the house of a woman who has just had a child, they must stand outside the entrance passage, their heads turned towards it, and hop and dance first on one leg then on the other.

The navel cord is tied with plaited sinew thread. Afterwards it is cut without any particular ceremony, either with a knife or an ulo. A navel bandage of caribou skin is then put on. When the end of the navel cord falls off it is sewn on to the child's inner coat as an amulet: the knife or ulo used for cutting the cord is also preserved for the child to keep as an amulet when it grows up."

3: Rasmussen--44 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 844

"When the afterbirth begins to come, the outer end must be made fast to one thigh with a plaited sinew thread to prevent it slipping in again. Afterwards, when it has emerged, it must be placed outside the tent or house where the dogs cannot get at it."

Man and woman, drawn by Netsit.

Only the women are tattooed, never the men. It is always the same patterns that are used, and they have the following names: Lines on the forehead: qaujât, i. e. "brow lines". At the eyes: e'nitit i. e. "those at the eyes". uluagutit: "those at the cheeks". tavlɔrutit: "those at the chin". algarutit: "those on the hands". akhäkrɔrutit: "those on the upper arm". — Of the necessity of tattooing to women they say: ulɔriana'llaq atɔrniarpa' kakinɛqarume, nutárqinialɛrume: If one is afraid of being tattooed one will have much worse pains when the child is coming. In other words: tattooing makes for easy childbirth.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

grinning in the background. I congratulated him; he *was* a great medicine-man. And later I changed his own .44 rifle for a 30.30.

A woman who entered Ikpuck's hut about 4 A.M. one morning, announced that his half-niece had just given birth to a daughter. Icehouse dressed quickly and went over to visit the mother; but Ikpuck, after the first enquiries, paid no further attention. A boy would have augmented the ranks of the hunters; but a girl, well, she was only one more to support. I, too, gave the matter no thought, leaving at daybreak to return to the station. But the day following the newly delivered wife and her husband marched across the strait in the teeth of a blizzard and built a snow-hut beside us. The baby remained behind. It had come at an inopportune season when the parents were migrating to the eastward; so without a pang they had crushed out its little life and laid the body on the wind-swept snow.

Four other mothers destroyed their babes this winter within an hour of delivery. Terrible as their crime may seem, they should not be condemned too hastily. Every society has devised some method, conscious or unconscious, for checking the full and unrestricted growth of its population; and infanticide, the simplest of them all, was in past ages the most widely spread. Greece and Rome condoned it, and even